1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat- 251
thews speaks below. The writer found some of the remains of those caches on said site in 1905.

Caches, or Pits. "The numerous caches, or pits, for storing grain, are noteworthy objects in the village. In summer, when they are not in use, they are often left open, or are carelessly covered, and may entrap the unwary stroller. When these Indians have harvested their crops, and before they start on their winter's hunt, they dig their caches, or clear out those dug in previous years. A cache is a cellar, usually round, with a small opening above, barely large enough to allow a person to descend; when finished, it looks like an ordinary round cistern. Reserving a small portion of corn, dried squash, etc., for winter use, they deposit the remainder in these subterranean store houses, along with household utensils and other articles of value which they wish to leave behind. They then fill up the orifices with earth, which they trample down and rake over, thus obliterating every trace of excavation.

"Some caches are made under the floors of the houses, others outside, in various parts of the village grounds; in each case, the distance and direction from some door, post, bedstead, fire-place, or other object is noted, so that the stores may be found on the return of the owners in the spring. Should an enemy enter the village while it is temporarily deserted, the goods are safe from fire and theft. This method of secreting property has long been used among many tribes, has been adopted by whites living on the plains, and is referred to in the works of many travelers."

It is seen from the following account of the "medicine-lodge" 346 361
of the Mandans, as observed by Matthews, that he ascribes to it a religious character, as did Catlin and others:

Mandan and Arricara "Medicine-Lodges." "There are, in the village, two open spaces, which, although of irregular shape, may be called squares; one of these is in the Mandan, the other in the Aricaree quarter. Besides each square stands a large round 'medicine-lodge,' or temple, built as described in the second paragraph of section three, which is used for purposes that, in a general way, are called religious."

The Ark—Ceremony of Okeepa. "In the center of the Mandan 778
square is a small circular palisade, about six feet high and four feet in diameter, made of neatly hewn puncheons set closely to-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

• 346

MISSION HOUSE, ELBOWOODS, N. D.

281

MANDAN WOMAN SCRAPING HIDE.

[facing p. 640]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter IV

THE OKIPA CEREMONY

796 198 THE Okipa[1] ceremony was an elaborate and complicated affair. It was a dramatization of the creation of the earth, its people, plants, and animals, together with the struggles the Mandan endured to attain their present position. The history of the tribe was a part of the secret lore held by the officers of the ceremony. The uninformed could pay to have the creation myths told but could not repeat them. The songs, chants, and rituals were conducted by men who by virtue of inheritance and purchase had acquired that right, but the words were unintelligible to the population at large, being, according to tradition, in an ancient Nuptadi dialect. Only the legitimate officers understood their meaning, and that information was never divulged to another except when purchase was being made into the ceremony. The few phrases recognized, such as "Corn Mother" and "Thunder Father," were insufficient to understand the substance of the rites.

796 361 Certain arrangement of lodges within the village was necessary for the performance of the ceremony. Each village had an open circle some one hundred and fifty feet in diameter reserved for this ceremony, and lodges were not permitted in that section. A cedar post, surrounded by a plank wall, occupied the center of this open circle, and lodges were arranged around the circle with their entrances toward the cedar.

361 ●346 The ceremonial lodge was to the north of the cedar and was a part of the row of lodges facing toward the open circle. It was distinguishable from the other lodges by its flat side at the entrance (see Fig. 13), which was to the south. It was so oriented that the entrance faced in the direction Lone Man went when he left the tribe.

Since lodges were not permitted within the open circle, nor were ashes and refuse deposited there, through normal accumu-

1. The word *okipE'* means "to look alike" and refers to the Bull Dancers, who were of the same stature and were painted and dressed alike for the dances.

3/1 [Culture hero; impersonated in the Okipa ceremony - Analyst]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lation of refuse in the remainder of the village this open circle took on the character of a sunken area within the village. This open area appears as frequently near the edges of the abandoned village sites as in the approximate centers. These sunken areas within the ruins of ancient sites downstream from the last Mandan villages distinguish ancient Mandan villages from those of other tribes. In ruins such as occur at the Larson or Motsiff sites, where there was a considerable accumulation of refuse within the village, the sunken area was very pronounced. At the Deapolis Site, where the interlodge refuse was thin, the open circle appeared as a slight depression with a low mound where the cedar stood.

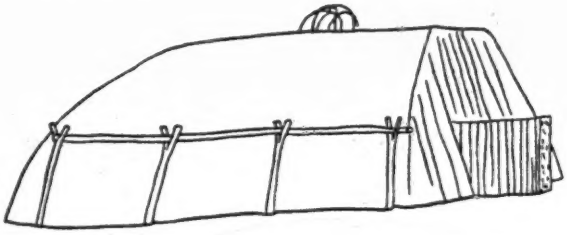

FIG. 13.—Plan of Okipa ceremonial lodge. (Drawn by White Calf.)

The three Hidatsa village groups in general lacked the open circle arrangement of lodges, although the Hidatsa proper in later years marked off a section within the village where dancing was done and where lodges were not permitted. There was neither a cedar, special ceremonial lodge, nor inner circle of lodges facing a common center. The Awatixa and Awaxawi villages lacked all semblance of lodge orientation, leaving only sufficient space between for corn scaffolds and passageways.

The Arikara plan shows considerable variation as to age. The protohistoric and early historic sites frequently had a special ceremonial lodge in the approximate center of the village, but all villages did not have ceremonial lodges. A limited area adjacent to the ceremonial lodge was used for the dances, but the neighboring lodges were not arranged in a circle, and there was no orientation of lodge entrances toward the center. More recent historic Arikara villages had definite open circles with orientation of lodges toward the center, where the ceremonial lodge

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size.

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety.

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics:

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who represented the village activities and peace functions of the tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war expedition. As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the people of his moiety.

Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox epidemic of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken, and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an officer in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting during the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall according to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space on that side.

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of the WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the Okipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the ceremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to occupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left there by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, upon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a ceremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a ceremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman explained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the lodge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the lodge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although of the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this ceremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the ceremony was no longer being performed.[5]

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in-

4. Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in the village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different-coloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these people as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these four days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81).

5. This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

6. Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which was placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerings to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE (east people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.)
EhE'nakahoc (I am saying)

masa'numąkE (north people)
maxEnu (one)

At the west side she sang:

ota'numąkE
mikaxo'
EhE'nakahoc

masa'numąkE
nupa (two)

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter VII

EAGLE-TRAPPING CEREMONY[1]

796 223 171

CAPTURING eagles from concealed pits[2] was practiced by all tribes of the Northern Plains. So far as our meager information indicates, the technique was essentially the same for a large number of tribes occupying territory adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa. Less is known of the ceremonial aspect of the practice, organization of expeditions, values of feathers for decoration, number of leaders, inheritance of rites and skills, or the socioreligious position of its shaman.

Shooting young developed eagles was uncommon, but both Mandan and Hidatsa informants claimed that the Crows made less use of pits, since they lived near the Rocky Mountains, where most of the birds nested and were able to shoot them in trees or near decoys. Such information as the literature gives indicates that all the tribes of the Upper Missouri River Region adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa used the pit method of trapping.

In this discussion of eagle-trapping it is proposed to indicate the territory claimed by the Mandan and Hidatsa, the technique of securing birds, mythological background, inheritance of rights to trap, as well as the economic and religious position of leaders in the tribal life.[3]

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Eagle-trapping by the Mandan and Hidatsa was confined to the rough lands adjacent to wooded streams. The ceremonial lodge for the men and the wood or hide tepees for the women and children were always erected in sheltered spots among the high trees along streams, while the pits were dug on the top or

1. For a detailed account of practices associated with eagle-trapping see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX [1929]), pp. 99–245.

2. For Maximilian's short account of eagle-trapping see Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 346.

3. Eagle-trapping rites and beliefs for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa are treated together in this chapter, since tribal differences were insignificant.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

near the top of hills or on benchlands adjacent to the streams (see Figs. 25–27). Of the total area claimed by these two tribes, only a small part of the entire territory was suitable for trapping, and that was confined to narrow sections of river country (see Fig. 28).

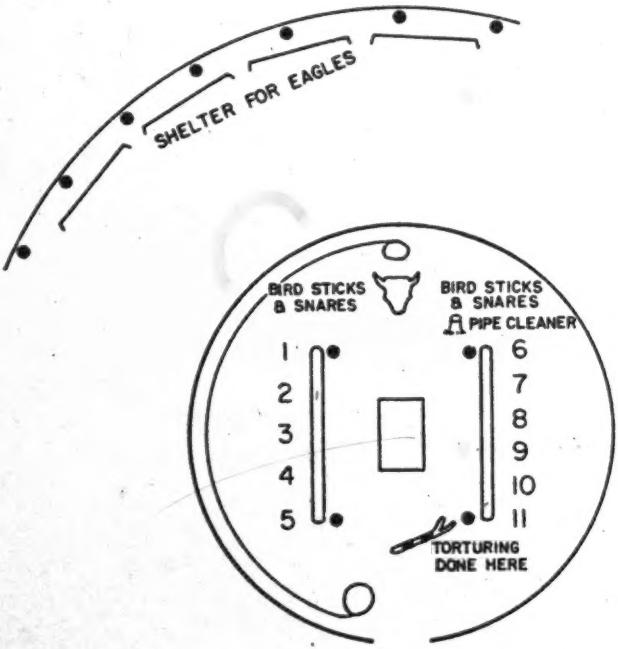

FIG. 25.—Plan of eagle-trapping lodge. *1*, Wolf Eyes—leader (Maxoxati-H); *2*, Big Walker—assistant leader (Tamisik-M); *3*, Little Crow (Low Hat); *4*, Lance-owner (3 clan); *5*, White Body (Maxoxati); *6*, Holding Eagle—Crack Shot (Prairie Chicken); *7*, Little Bull (Knife); *8*, Black Bear (Knife); *9*, Sitting Woman (Prairie Chicken); *10*, Bears Arm (Knife); *11*, Louie Wolf—waiter (Water-buster).

Historic accounts of these two tribes give little information on eagle-trapping, but there are frequent references to their value in trade. The standard price of a good horse was three war bonnets containing a total of one hundred and eight black-tipped feathers, which would be the feathers from nine birds.

Archeological evidence verifies native tradition of the great antiquity of eagle-trapping. In the rough country west of the Missouri River there are thousands of depressions marking the sites of former pits. These pits vary from sharply rectangular

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently
223 rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The
172 number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

796 During the century 1770–1870 there was a general northward
223 movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied
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648 [346]

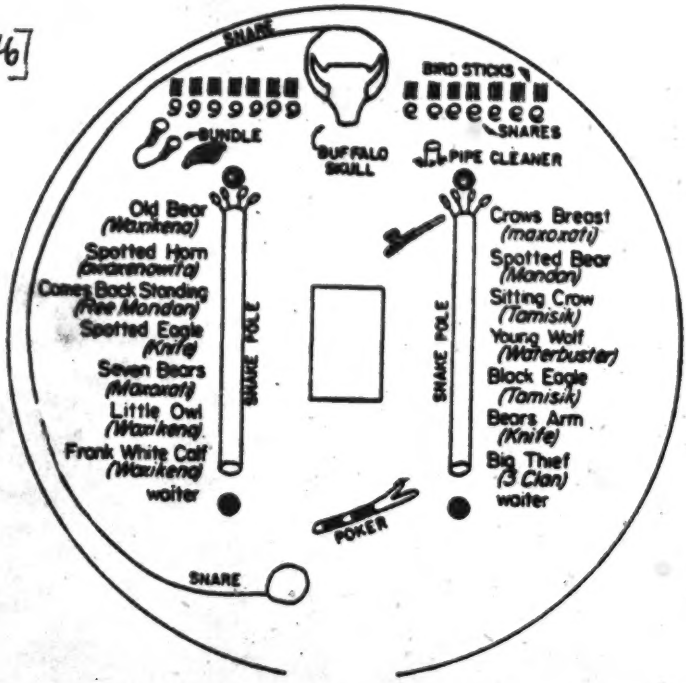

FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: *1*, "Both Ends White"; *2*, "Speckled"; *3*, "Four Stripes"; *4*, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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FIG. 27.—Eagle-trapping camp and pits, Old Bear, leader. (Drawn by Bears Arm to show himself fasting when seventeen years of age.)

[p. 209]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 their intentions of trapping at certain localities and called for volunteers. The bundle-owner was leader, and his authority began as soon as the party left the village. Announcement that they would be trapping at a specified site was made in the village as soon as a party was organized, in order that hunting parties or other eagle-trapping parties would know their whereabouts.

Trapping parties left for the trapping sites when the leaves began to change color in the fall. In the party would be the leader and his trappers, together with their wives and children. It [224] being customary to hunt game for the winter's needs when the winds were not from a westerly direction, the women were taken along to cure the meat and prepare the hides.

223 346 Two types of lodges were used in connection with eagle-trapping. According to tradition, when Black Wolf visited the bears, he found them using a grass lodge consisting of a sweat-lodge frame covered with grass mats. When this lodge was used, the rigid rules associated with eagle-trapping were dispensed with. The bears had said, "When you use the grass lodge, there will be no rules." Any suitable location for the lodge could be agreed upon where it would be centrally located in relation to the pits. Neither were there rules governing the excavation of pits nor the appropriation of old ones. Each trapped where he chose, killed the birds, and secured the feathers. This type lodge was rarely used except when trapping in new territory under circumstances such that it was considered unlikely that the party would ever return there again to trap.

223 346 778 The second type lodge was known as the wood lodge. There were two variants of this type. When it was planned to return to the locality again, it was constructed on a four-post standard, each post having a fork at the top on which poles were suspended forming a square. The sides of the lodge were built by leaning poles against this standard to form a roughly conical structure. Bark and earth were banked around the outer edge of the lodge to a height of three feet for warmth and protection from attack. This was the preferred type lodge. With it went ownership of the adjacent pits and hunting territory. It was the residence of the males and was owned by the leader who had directed its construction. When used in connection with eagle-trap-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ping, the full ritual belonging to the bundle was used. These were permanent sites and were used from year to year. (The camps indicated in Fig. 28 used this lodge.) Transfer of ownership was through the clan, although a leader of a different clan could pay for the right to use a lodge and pits for a season when neither the owner nor a member of the owner's clan intended to use it.

A variant of the pole lodge was generally used when a new territory was being explored for the first time. In exterior form it resembled the four-post lodge but lacked the standard on which the poles were leaned. The structure was begun by lashing four poles together in the manner of the four-pole tepee of the Plains, after which poles were leaned together at the top forming a circular base and conical exterior. The base had the same exterior covering of bark and earth for protection from the weather as well as defense from enemies.

Many of these pole lodges are still to be found, even though eagle-trapping was generally discontinued fifty years ago. In the autumn of 1932 the writer accompanied Bear on the Flat, Crows Heart, and Mark Mato on an eagle-trapping expedition and use was made of a lodge and pits owned by Iron Eyes (born into the WaxikEna clan but raised in the Prairie Chicken clan), a member of Bear on the Flat's clan.

When a trapping party returned to an old site, the first duty was to repair the trapping lodge. Broken poles were taken out of the wall and replaced by new ones, after which the sides were banked with bark and earth. When six or eight men were in the party, the lodge was the size of the regular hide tepee. When parties of fourteen to twenty men went out, the lodge was enlarged to twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. Hide tepees were never used for the men when on eagle-trapping expeditions. The lodge was always concealed in a thicket of timber near running water. The head of the lodge was in a westerly direction, usually more north than west so that the entrance was in a general direction of the Missouri River's course. The head of the lodge and adjacent area on that side of the lodge were considered holy. One could not cut wood, perform tasks not related to the ceremonies, or loiter there. The sweat lodge was south of the trapping lodge. The women erected their hide tepees or pole lodges without the four-post standard, and their drying scaffolds were

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 346 778

in line with the entrance of the ceremonial lodge to the east. Before the introduction of horses, women lived in pole lodges, but these lodges were replaced with hide tepees as soon as possession of horses became general.

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When returning to a site that had been used the former year, the two poles representing the snakes were brought from their place on the west side of the lodge and placed at the door; otherwise new ones were cut and brought to the lodge. Before the leader carried in the sacred bundle, he would sing the Song to the Lodge, with the trappers seated around him. After this he addressed the bundle, announced that trapping was about to commence, and asked for good luck from the Bears, the Buffalo, and the Snare. He then entered the lodge, invited the Buffalo and the trappers to come in, and placed the Buffalo skull and bundle at the head of the lodge.

When all were inside, the leader sang the Song of the Snakes and called for the two snake poles, which were brought in and placed one on the left side and the other on the right side of the lodge with the large ends representing the heads pointed toward the head of the lodge and the altar. The leader then produced a short sharp stick, usually decorated with porcupine quills, and marked off the limits of the fireplace, after which a rectangular pit was excavated. The rectangular shape of the fireplace was symbolic of the eagle-trapping pit, while the fire was addressed as "Grandfather," meaning that "it goes back in time to the beginning of things." The two ash poles were then placed on opposite sides of the fireplace. The pole on the left side represented the male snake and the one on the right side represented the female.[27] According to Mandan-Hidatsa tradition, Two Men[28] once came along and stopped with a party trapping eagles and informed the leader that the eagles ate snakes while the snakes preferred to eat eagle down. In that way snake poles were used in the ceremonial lodge for the men to place their heads on while sleeping.

The leader placed a juneberry branch tied up with white sage, representing the moon and also identified with the black-tipped

27. The arrangement of these two poles was symbolic of the lodge in Red Butte, visited by Grandson, where the snakes slept with their heads on poles at opposite sides of the fire.

28. Lodge Boy and Spring Boy of Hidatsa mythology.

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FIG. 31.—Vacated lodge with closed door

FIG. 32.—Lodge when repaired and ready for occupation.

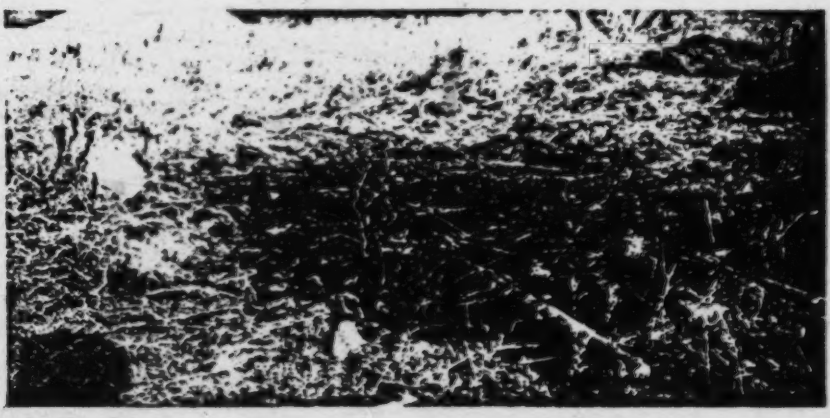

FIG. 33.—Pit with framework and buckbrush covering completed

[Ceremonial lodge used during eagle trapping expedition — Analyst.]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The other said, "I had that happen, too, when you were winning, so I don't think it is anything serious. If you find anything more to bet on, I am ready. I always give a person a chance to get back what he lost." 773 539

After a while Snake Man stepped out. Late that night Brown Old Man came and ate with the young man, and they were happy. He told Brown Old Man what Snake Man had said and then Brown Old Man laughed.

He said, "I made one mistake here; at the time you fellows ran I was angry, and I thought that every time Snake Man breathed the dirt would go into his mouth. That is why he threw all that dirt up. That was a mistake, for I am afraid that he will not have a long life."

While the gambling was going on, the young man had married. He told his wife to go out and take a bath, for he had promised Brown Old Man that if he won the game and had a wife he should take her as a daughter-in-law. Brown Old Man had said, "I will sleep beside her and take her as my daughter-in-law, but I will not touch her. What you have done, giving her to me for my daughter-in-law, makes me happy." They slept together until the next day. The young man and his "father," Brown Old Man, ate together and were happy. Brown Old Man said to his "son," "I sang a holy song while you were playing the game, and it is yours. In the future when you go out to attack your enemy, use that song, and you will win that game too."

Meanwhile Snake Man was vomiting up the dirt; it was not long after that until he died.

Brown Old Man died in that village, but, when they tell the story, the old people do not say whether he went back to the birds or not, but it seems from the earlier part of the story that he must have.

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. I

The people were living out on the Reservation by this time [1888]. I was about twenty-four years old then. By that time we had wagons so we went with teams. We went across from Independence and set out west toward Heart Singer Butte, near which we camped that night. The next time we moved, we camped at Eagle Nest Butte. Bad Coat had his wife, True Woman (Water-buster clan); Iron Eyes had his wife, Brown Chest (AwaxEnawita clan); Charging had his wife, Robe (Knife clan); Little Crow had his wife, Otter (Water-buster clan); Packs Wolf had his wife, Comes Along Pink (AwaxEnawita clan); Spotted Weasel had his wife, Cedar (AwaxEnawita clan); Raven Knows Nothing had his wife, Bear Woman (Knife clan); Sitting Owl had his wife, Pink Blossom (AwaxEnawita clan); Sitting Owl had an adopted son along called Standing Bull. 223

The next time we camped just the other side of where the White Lodge stands, where there are large springs. The next day we came opposite Buffalo Manure Butte, called Lone Butte today, and camped on the banks of the Little Missouri River. We crossed the Little Missouri there and followed Buffalo Manure Creek, called Crosby Creek today, and crossed the divide to the west and camped. The camp was on the Little Missouri River in the timber.

We set to work, for we had wagons then, cutting the timbers and posts. They were mostly ash, and we hauled them on the wagons. We set up the four posts with the rails at the top and then carried the timbers around the sides of the place where the lodge was to stand. All the men worked on this, and we finally finished it. It took us one day to cut the timbers while others were scraping the ground down, taking the roots out. The next day we commenced 223 346

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 346 putting the lodge up, finishing the actual building in one day. The next day the leader put the wood pillows on the ground, dug out the fireplace, and placed the stakes at the head of the lodge where the buffalo head belonged. He finished everything up just as in the other drawings I made. After the skull was brought in by the leader, it was placed at the head of the lodge. Then we went out and cut soft grass for bedding. Iron Eyes was the man to stay in the lodge and burn incense, for he was an old man and did not go into any of the pits.

223 Each one of us went out and selected a spot where our pits should be; sometimes two would go together and make one pit. When finished, they would go to another site and make another pit for the other one. That took us two days. Where one had a pit close to a washout or bank, he would carry the dirt and throw it in there. Those on the level would carry the dirt far off and put it in a low pile to make it look as though a ground mole or pocket gopher had dug it up. After a pit was dug, we took the measurements of it for the cover and cut the six sticks for the frame. Buckbrush was tied between the pole frames to make a shield for the grass which was to come next.

The bait's place was at the west side. There were two stakes to hold it down with a crotch on the end of each. Stakes were driven into the ground, and the bait was tied to the two stakes to keep it from being moved by the birds. There was a stake on the inside of the pit in the wall also. The third stake had a crotch, and a strong cord was tied to it and to the bait so that the eagle could not move the bait.

As soon as all the stakes were tied together, to get into the pit, we would take the cover up and drop our things in under it and crawl in feet first. Before going in, the bait was fixed from the outside and the cord dropped down into the pit to be tied to the stake. Then we smoothed the grass covering. We always used six poles for the cover; that way it made the covering strong enough to hold a bird's weight. Some trappers often reported that birds came and fought the decoy if it was too close to the bait, so I always had mine farther off. That was why I never had any trouble catching birds.

223 796 When we had the lodge completed, the leader told us we could go in. We took our firearms up and stood in front of the lodge. The Leader said, "Sitting Owl, you will go in and be the Crack Shot (*mariisakihE*)."[8] He did not know that he would be selected. In fact, none of us knew who would be selected for the different places. Then Charging was told to go in, then Raven Knows Nothing, Bears Arm, and Spotted Weasel, who was selected as the waiter on that side. Then, on the other side Packs Wolf was selected waiter (*ix'-ta-ki*). Blue Stone, Little Crow, Iron Eyes, and Bad Coat went in last.

Each man beginning with the Crack Shot had four sticks, each one representing one of the four eagles, making in all twenty sticks on one side and twenty sticks on the other side. There were no markings on them; they were cut from chokecherry branches. When Wolfs Eyes went out, he had no sticks in front at all. Old Bear also gave each man four sticks which were placed in a row at the altar.

I never knew of offering strips of beaver hides to the stakes, as Crows Heart says, but it may have been in some of the other men's rites. I was out with Old Black Bear, and he was doing a little differently, but White Eagle came and asked me to go home as my folks wanted me. The leader thought

8. Hidatsa language.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. II

223 Early in fall the leader, Wolfs Eyes, said, "I am going out eagle-trapping." There are two ways of getting up a group; some leaders accept volunteers, or the leader may select his men. We went to him and said. "We wish to go with you," and he said that it would be all right. He told us to take certain products from the garden such as roast corn, dried yellow corn, white flour corn, and dried squash. Some prepared their own baits at home. Most of the baits were stuffed jackrabbit skins. Those who did not have any baits made them after we were located at the eagle-trapping lodge and the tepees had been put up. Some would use a piece of deer hide cut up with ears on and two legs on the side.

In the party were the leader, Wolfs Eyes; Big Walk; Little Crow; Lance Owner; Little Bull; Holding Eagle; Black Bear; SittingWoman; White Body; Bears Arm; Louie Wolf or Red Horse; Many Birds; a boy, Spotted Weasel; Little Crow's wife, Otter Woman, and their daughter, Comes Out; Big Walk's wife, Plain Blossom, and their grandson, Jim Foot or Foot Prints; Plain Blossom's daughter, Too Costly; Woman in Water, wife of Charging Eagle, and her son, Richard Burr; Lance Owner's wife, Yellow Stalk; Holding Eagle's wife, Bobcat Woman. Charging Eagle being a policeman, he could not get away, but his wife, being Bears Arm's mother's sister, went along to help with the work in the camp. Also my mother's mother and Woman in Water were [462] sisters. There were several women along because there was much to do, since in bad weather we would go out and kill mountain sheep, elk, and deer, so the women came along to care for the meet and hides.

484 When everything was ready, the young women took their bullboats to the 492 river and crossed our stuff consisting of tepees, poles, provisions, bedding, and cooking utensils. It took nearly all day to cross the stuff. The first camp was at Beaver Creek. We used tepee poles tied together as travois. The horses pulled poles with the tepees and bedding, while several additional pack horses were loaded down with bedding. We were all on horseback and traveled very slowly. When traveling, the leader was at the head of the party, while the hunters were to the side or in advance of the others.

487 The second day we traveled to End of World Buttes and stopped northeast of Killdeer the third night. After camping on the east side of Killdeer, we went around the north side of the Killdeer Mountains and camped on the north side. From there we went north because that was the best route to cross the Little Missouri River. After we left the Little Missouri, we went to the place called Wolf Pit. When we reached our destination, we commenced to put up our lodge, for there was no lodge there before.

223 The place was selected by the leader because of the presence of a prairie-dog town there in a valley extending from the Yellowstone River eastward to the Little Missouri. All along that valley there were prairie dogs, and the eagles traveled along this valley in order to catch these animals. Then the Indians would come to this site, and our leader thought that it would be a good place to catch the birds.

● 346 As soon as the camp was selected, all set to work erecting the lodge, even 784 the women helped by cutting the grass to pack between the poles and digging 223 dirt to put over the lodge. There was an opening at the top for the sparks and smoke. There were four posts and railing on top, while the rest of the poles

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

leaned against them. We were not allowed to shoot or throw stones at any kind of birds. Nor were we allowed to sing other than the songs that went with the trapping. The leader tied pieces of calico to ash trees as offering to the Holy Women and told the new members that the region back of the lodge or west was holy ground as the birds came from that direction.

Then we did the "Tied" ceremony, meaning marking the corners of the new pits so that they were square and deep enough to be over one's head when sitting up in them. On the side wall a hole was dug like a small shelf and a stone was put in it. The stone is called Baby Stone, for the eagles were considered sacred. The stone was used as a shield, and, when one catches an eagle and wishes to kill it in the pit, instead of using the words "kill it" we said "put it to sleep" and took the stone down and placed it between the eagles wings, took the cord tied around its neck, and pulled the cord back, and that way broke the neck.

The bears were the first ones to trap eagles; there are two different stories about eagle-trapping. The leader goes in and blesses the lodge and prays to the spirits. When they first learned of eagle-trapping, the bear was doing this. He had a cord and spread it out, opening it, and said, "All are caught." It was because the bears prayed that prayers had to be offered to the spirits to whom the bears prayed.

There must have been a great difference in the ceremonies once, since the stone is called "Tied" and also "Sleep Stone."

When our leader saw that all was ready, he said, "We must go in." He named Little Bull to be the Crack Shot and go in first; then he named Holding Eagle to sit next to the Crack Shot; then Wolfs Eyes went in and took his place at the head of the lodge; then the helper, Big Walk, went in. Whatever the leader does in singing and praying, the man sitting next to him is expected to give him assistance. The leader and his helper are the ones to offer prayers and do the singing, while the Crack Shot and the man next to him work together too. Their duty is to torture the men. Then the other men came in on both sides and took their places. Then there were two waiters selected by the leader. They were not named, nor is anyone named until the lodge is completed and ready to move in.

No excuses are allowed. When the leader says, "I select you as a waiter," one has no right to refuse. After this, we went in and took our places. The leader said, "Waiter, burn some incense," and, while the waiter burned it, the leader took his sacred articles out and held them in the smoke. He held up the cord, and while he was singing the song to the snares he made a motion as of throwing the loop to catch something. He did that three times, and the fourth time the Crack Shot jumped up and took the snare, saying, "Leader, you have snared everything; you have roped everything north, south, west, and east," meaning that then he had everything in the world caught in his snare.

There are many songs[12] to be sung by the leader and his helper. After he sings these songs, there is a special song for the waiter, who gets up and dances with the cord, making the sign of throwing the loop to catch something. Then, one of the men who is not married would say, "Waiter, I feel someone at my back."

Then the waiter looked and said, "There is a very handsome woman back

12. See Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 69–80.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit.

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing.

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter.

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 386; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.
[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.
[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 86.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 81.
[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the Whites. There is nothing of the kind at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the centre, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the centre of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up, of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together (see the woodcut, p. 342).

At the north end of this circular space is the medicine lodge, in which festivals are celebrated, and certain customs practised, which are connected with the religious notions of this people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the evil spirit, Ochkih-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man, as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the centre of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins (see woodcut).

The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts, four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal

1 [This shrine, the sacred cedar, represents the culture hero's body. See Category 116, Source 2: Bowers, pp. 24, 116 for a more up-to-date summary.--Analyst]